

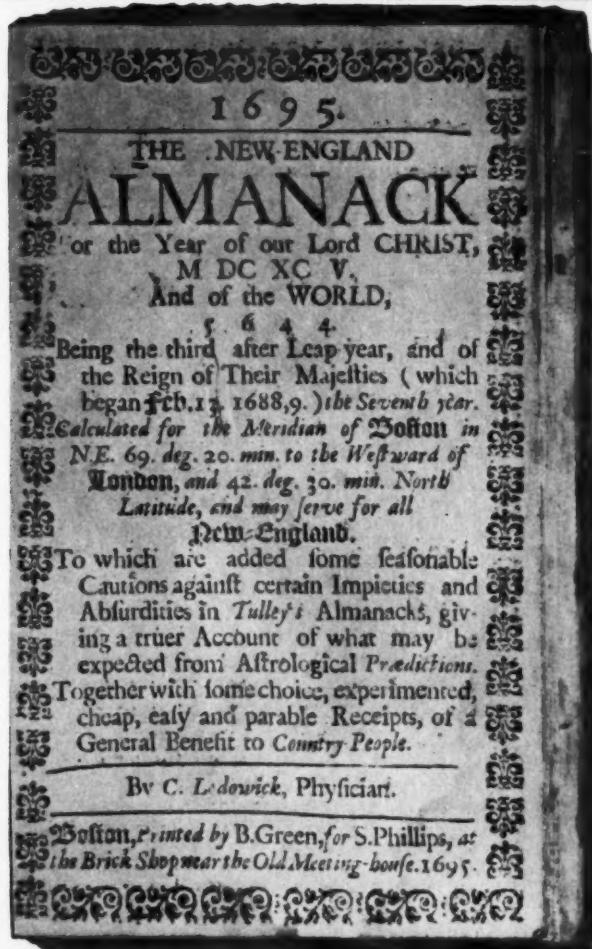
# RHODE ISLAND HISTORY

PUBLISHED BY RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOL. III

OCTOBER 1944

NO. 4



ISSUED QUARTERLY AT PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

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# RHODE ISLAND HISTORY

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## Christian Lodowick of Newport and Leipzig

By HAROLD S. JANTZ

*Professor of Modern Languages, Princeton University*

Sometime in 1684 probably, Christian Lodowick embarked for America as a ship's doctor and either landed at Newport directly or soon came there. He was not the first German physician in Rhode Island, for as early as 1661 Felix-Christian Spöri of Zurich had stopped over in Newport for several weeks, performed a successful operation upon the son of the governor (President William Brenton), and was almost persuaded to stay.<sup>1</sup> The neighboring colonies too had their German doctors, some of them with very colorful careers behind them. John Lederer after his explorations of the Appalachians of Virginia and the Carolinas came to Connecticut, performed chemical experiments with Governor John Winthrop the Younger at Hartford, and then practiced medicine very successfully at Stratford and Stamford in 1674 and 1675. Doctors Burchstead and Kronenscheldt settled in Massachusetts during the 1680's and founded families, the latter's to become famous as the Crowninshields of Salem. Dr. Francis Grahtman too became a respected citizen of Salem a few decades later.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See his *Americanische Reiss-beschreibung*, Zürich, 1677, copy at the New York Public Library.

<sup>2</sup>Dieter Cunz, "John Lederer, Significance and Evaluation", *William and Mary Quarterly*, XXII (1942), 175-185, esp. p. 183, note 17, on the present author's

Christian Lodowick had been no explorer like Lederer, no duellist at Leipzig University like Kronenscheldt, no doctor on board a pirate ship as Grahtman had been forced to be. He was, on the contrary, a very idealistic, pious, and highly learned young man, whose inclinations toward the Quaker way of life soon led the Newport Friends to accept him as one of themselves. There was nothing about his first known occupation in America which could give us any inkling of the colorful and extremely varied career which was to follow. He petitioned the Friends for the use of their meeting house for keeping school, and the Monthly Meeting of February 24, 1685 granted this request.<sup>3</sup> It is doubtful whether Newport during the seventeenth century had a more learned school teacher.

His remarkable development from this modest beginning becomes more understandable through the fortunate finding of an early biography or obituary notice of him which appeared in a rare Leipzig periodical in 1728.<sup>4</sup> This first biography, together with the Quaker records at Newport, a letter of his at the Rhode Island Historical Society, and several other letters, documents, and references which have come to light during several years of research, enable us to put together a reasonably good though brief account of his life and character. Very possibly there is other material about him here in America which has not yet come to light, and there certainly is much more about him in Europe, but his life and activities are of such significance for early New England that it is well worth while to attempt a sketch of his career with the material now available.

discovery of the correspondence.

<sup>3</sup>The Diary of William Bentley, 4 vols., Salem, 1905-1914, II, 200 & 444.  
On Grahtman see Harold Bowditch's article in the *New England Journal of Medicine* for April 21, 1938.

<sup>4</sup>Henry J. Cadbury was the first to utilize the Quaker records of Newport as the basis for an article on Lodowick's American career, *The Journal of the Friends Historical Society*, XXXIII (1936), 20-25. There are a few additional references in this article which are taken directly from the Newport manuscript, and are so noted.

<sup>4</sup>*Neue Zeitungen von gelehrten Sachen* (generally referred to by its later title, *Neue Leipziger gelehrte Anzeigen*), No. LXVI (Aug. 1728), 639-640, copy in the Library of Congress. This is the chief source of the brief biography in Jöcher's *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexicon*, II, 2584 (i.e. 2585), and establishes the fact that Christian Ludwig of Leipzig and Christian Lodowick of Newport were one and the same person.

Christian Lodowick, or Ludwig, was born in June, 1660, at Eilenburg, a town some ten miles north east of Leipzig. The brief biography mentioned above tells us nothing about his education, though his name is accompanied by the title of Magister (Master of Arts). However, he was almost certainly the Christian Ludwig of "Ileburg" whose name is recorded in the matriculation book of the University of Leipzig in 1677 and again in 1680.<sup>5</sup> It is just possible that two of his "disputations" or dissertations of this time were printed. In a rare catalog of a private library<sup>6</sup> two titles are listed together under "Ludovici, M. Chr." The first (where his name is accompanied by his degree of Magister) is without date, *Positionum Philologicarum Decas 1*; the second, *De Templo Salomonaeo Dissertationes 2*, bears the date 1678 and may have preceded the other. Such a publication at the age of eighteen would not have been considered unusually precocious—particularly after Leibnitz, who was ready for his doctor's degree at the age of fifteen. The fact that the brief biography of him makes special mention of his philological books (as well as the facts of his later career) makes it rather likely that the first tract is by him; the second tract too is in harmony with the speculative trend of his mind. On the other hand, there was at least one other academic Christian Ludwig of the time who could have been the author.

Whether Lodowick remained at Leipzig most of this time, or, in the manner of most German students, gathered experience and education at several universities, we cannot at present ascertain from the available published matriculation books. At any rate, he received his Master's degree, though with all his knowledge and skill as a physician, he probably never took the degree of Doctor of Medicine. Like so many other young graduates of his time and later, he marked time for a few years as tutor in a noble household. His employer, however, was no ordinary

<sup>5</sup>Georg Erler, *Die Jüngere Matrikel der Universität Leipzig 1559-1809*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1909, II, 271.

<sup>6</sup>*Bibliotheca Zochiana* (i.e. of Carl Fr. von Zoch), ed. by Theod. Henr. Tiezmann, Onoldi, 1752, p 297, no. 3692. See also note 28 below.

nobleman but a figure of great prestige in the religious, philosophical, and occult circles of his day. He was Christian Knorr von Rosenroth (1636-1689)<sup>7</sup> distinguished lyric poet, Cabalist, mentor of the Prince of Sulzbach, friend and correspondent of Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz, of the meteoric Francis Mercurius van Helmont, of the Cambridge Platonist Henry More, and of the incomparable Lady Conway. The stamp of his personality seems to have remained indelibly impressed upon the young tutor in his family.

This was a time of fusion among the various small groups of mystics on the Continent, in England, and in America, among whom the Quakers were the most active and successful. All of the groups had their roots in later variants of Neo-Platonism and Christian mysticism, chiefly through Johann Tauler, Caspar von Schwenkfeld, Valentin Weigel, and most particularly through Jacob Boehme.<sup>8</sup> Inwardness of religion, reliance upon the guidance of the light of God within man's soul, a complete devaluation of religious forms, ceremonies, and organization, a reaction against the increasing preponderance of rationalism, an effort to reestablish the value of the emotions, these are characteristic of all the various groups, even of those within the pale of the established Catholic or Protestant churches. The bolder, more speculative spirits outside the pale carried these tendencies at times to their ultimate conclusions in quietism and seekerism.

In 1677 William Penn, Robert Barclay, and George Keith made their journey through Holland and Germany to unite some of these groups under Quaker leadership. One of the material results of Penn's efforts a few years later was the founding of Germantown, Pennsylvania by Quakers and near-Quakers of the Rhineland. There is

<sup>7</sup>Cadbury, *op. cit.*, 24, was the first to note this connection. See also the author's "German Thought and Literature in New England, 1620-1820", *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XLI (1942), 1-45, esp. 16-17.

On Knorr see the *Deutsche National-Biographie*.

<sup>8</sup>The best easily available books on these trends of thought are Rufus M. Jones' *Studies in Mystical Religion*, London, 1909, and his *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th & 17th Centuries*, London, 1914 (also later editions of both).

no indication, however, that Christian Lodowick came into personal contact at this time with either the English Quaker leaders or with the Pastorius group, though he may well have done so. His transformation into a Quaker may have come about at this time through Knorr von Rosenroth, with whom he probably stayed between about 1680 and 1683 or 84. When and where he acquired his perfect and idiomatic command of English is not known, though one need not be too surprised by it, for Knorr translated Sir Thomas Browne's *Pseudoxia Epidemica* into German in 1680 and Knorr's friend van Helmont was also well acquainted with the English language.<sup>9</sup>

Lodowick may at first have gone to England, and there about 1683 or 84 have been engaged as a ship's doctor and come to New England. We know nothing about the further fortunes of his school at Newport, which he presumably started early in 1685. All that we know is that in November, 1688 he asked the Monthly Meeting for a certificate, possibly for travel; this was granted. However, we can infer with some reason that within a few years his university mind, highly trained in science as well as metaphysical speculation, developed misgivings about the beautifully simple faith and doctrines of the Friends. Being master of the whole background of Renaissance mystical speculation, he apparently could not resist trying to develop Quaker doctrines and to give them a more profound and sophisticated turn, even as George Keith sought to do about this same time. Both Lodowick's and Keith's efforts were rejected by the generality of Friends, and both men definitely withdrew from the Society and joined its opponents. However, matters came to a head sooner in Newport, just a year or two before they did in Philadelphia; the consequence was that Lodowick broke with the Society when Keith was still in its good graces, and Keith thus became

<sup>9</sup>For Knorr's and van Helmont's English connections from 1670 see the *Conway Letters*, edited by Marjorie Hope Nicolson, New Haven, 1930, very numerous references, esp. from p. 309 onward. If Lodowick came to Newport via England, he may well have become acquainted with Knorr's best friend there, the Cambridge Platonist, Henry More.

his virulent opponent and the stout defender of the Friends, ironically just before he himself ran into trouble for similar innovative activities.

Another possible hypothesis is that Lodowick's break with the Quakers may have come about through his acquaintance with the Reverend and very learned Mr. Samuel Lee of nearby Bristol. Though we have as yet no direct evidence that the two men ever met, it would have been rather strange than otherwise if they had not, for neither could have found another person so much like himself in all the American colonies. Lee's library alone, consisting as it did of over twelve hundred volumes, many of them the transcendental and occult volumes that were favorites at Sulzbach, could well have proved an irresistible magnet to draw Lodowick the few miles to Bristol.<sup>10</sup> In the conversations that would have ensued, Samuel Lee, the orthodox Congregationalist, with his superior theological dialectic, might well have shaken Lodowick's old beliefs. It would have been decidedly a help in any such conversations that Lee was in every other matter except religious creed as completely unorthodox and advanced as Lodowick. This hypothetical acquaintance would account for the fact that Lodowick's treatise, in which he first expressed doubts about Quaker doctrines, quickly came to the attention of the Boston ministers and was referred to approvingly by Cotton Mather, as we shall see. In this way too it would be easy to account for Lodowick's ensuing close acquaintance with Thomas Brattle, Samuel Sewall, and other intellectual leaders, even before he moved to Massachusetts.

All was apparently still serene in January 1690, when Lodowick was a witness to the marriage of Thomas and Mary Coddington<sup>11</sup> but within another year or so he began to express his differences from Quaker principles. By the spring of 1691, the Newport Quakers had lost patience with Lodowick's philosophical aberrations, and the Quarterly Men and Women's Meeting of May 12, 1691 reached

<sup>10</sup>The Library of The Late Reverend and Learned Mr. Samuel Lee, Boston, 1693, unique copy of the sales catalog at the Boston Public Library.

<sup>11</sup>Cadbury, op. cit., 21.

the following conclusion: "This meetting Takeing into Consideration the Disorderley behavior of Christian Lodwick who hath: Formerly Crept in Amongst us & seemed to bee A Lover of Truth; & Friend/ But since For sevral: months past hath Apposed & appeared in our publike meetings & Contineues to gayne say the principle and testamoney of the Truth. & is a publike Disturber/ which actions and Frame of Sperit is Condemned to be evill & is disouned by us."<sup>12</sup>

An account of these differences, together with a manuscript and letter of Lodowick, was sent to Edward Wright of Barbadoes for his opinion; the answer reached Newport the following May. This answer left no doubt that Lodowick would now be adjudged a heretic and cast into outer darkness. Wright was outraged that a man who had known the truth could thus turn against it, "and then to trample upon all this in thy imagination after the sound thereof hath reached thy own country to the convincing and gathering of many therein who I believe will be grieved to hear of thy apostacy & separation from thy brethren . . ." This refers, of course, to William Penn's successful missionary tour through Germany; it also implies that Lodowick was known in German Quaker circles. The letter ends in the racy language of the controversialist of the day: "howEver I have Returned thy Furdle as A Treasur oneley Fit For the dunghill . . ."<sup>13</sup>

The manuscript to which Wright refers at the beginning of the letter as "thy challenge" may have been the same as the "Challenge to the Quakers", now lost, probably never published but circulated in manuscript, and referred to by Cotton Mather in his *Little Flocks Guarded Against Grievous Wolves*, which was published September 1, 1691. Mather here mentions (p. 15) "the Ingenious Mr. Lodowick, a Gentleman of Rhode-Island lately Recovered out of Quakerism, in a Challenge to the Quakers," and

<sup>12</sup>Newport Historical Society mss., 807 A, *Man & Woman's Meeting of Friends 1676-1707*, p. 63.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.* The original letter is at the back of the volume.

adds a quotation from the challenge. Up to this point all of Christian Lodowick's side of the controversy is lacking, and there is preserved only the abuse that his opponents heaped upon him. But now Lodowick, having read Mather's tract, was moved to write him a long letter on February 1, 1692, which was printed almost immediately by Bartholomew Green of Boston.

This letter contains interesting details about the previous summer's events in Newport. During that summer, it appears, George Keith spent some time at Newport and seems to have had rather intimate, even friendly, conversations with Lodowick on decidedly esoteric subjects, along with the public disputation which he undertook against him. One should imagine that if the Newport Friends had been aware of the wild speculative trends of Keith's thoughts at this time, they might not have chosen him as their champion against Lodowick in the disputation which was held June 18, 1691 at the house of Walter Clark.<sup>14</sup> All that we know about the disputation is that after some unsatisfactory discussion Lodowick went away, leaving Keith with the feeling that he had triumphed. To judge from the letter to Mather, Lodowick had for his part analysed the tendencies in Quaker doctrine rather acutely, and, as events were soon to show, he was completely right in his analysis of Keith: that he was not a Quaker at all.

In the eight page letter Lodowick analyzes the evolution of Keith's thought in its progressive attempts to make Quaker doctrine philosophically more acceptable, from his *Way to the City of God*, through *The Way Cast Up*, to a recent manuscript of his, all of which Lodowick sends to Mather.

"When I read Your Book, I did wish, that You might have had the perusal of *these* Books of his, ere You wrote Yours. For tho' You have notably discovered the Errors of the Generality of the *Quakers* (whom I call *Foxians*) yet there is also a *little party* dispersed to and fro, among the common *Foxians*, who, tho' they observe G. Foxes Ordinances and pass

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<sup>14</sup>Cadbury, *op. cit.*, 22-23.

with the rest under the Designation of *Quakers*, are nevertheless no true *Foxians*, but may, (for distinctions sake) be called *Semiquakers* or *Semi-Foxians*: . . . They are most of them, the more learned sort of the people called *Quakers*: the chief writers of these, are G. *Keith*, Ro. *Barclay*, (both Scotchmen,) . . . The common *Foxians* conceive that that which condemns every man within him, is a measure of the *Essence* of God, which they call *Christ*, the *Light*, the *Word*, and the *Eternal Spirit &c* . . . (whereby they only describe the various condition of man's *Conscience*.) . . . The *Semi-foxians* finding this Doctrine to be too Gross and that God is Indivisible and Immortal, and cannot be Crucified Slain and Raised from Death, will not say, that the *Inward Condemner* is a measure of the uncreate Eternal Spirit, but they say, 'tis a create or rather *Emanated* Being, Emanated from God in the beginning before all things, VIZ. A measure of the *Essence* of the *Heavenly Man*, which they generally call the *Light* and *Spirit* of Jesus Christ, and the purchase of his Death . . . and he [Barclay] is offended with them that call it a *Natural Conscience* . . . he saith, that they may come to partake of it [Christ's sacrifice], that are ignorant of the *History* of Christ, for he asserts that by the operation of this *Light* and *Seed*, some have been and may yet be saved, to whom the *Gospel* is not outwardly Preached, nor the *History* of Christ outwardly known, because they have with all other men, a *day of Visitation*, in which God offers to work this Salvation, by the *Measure* of a saving, sufficient supernatural *Right*, given to every man, which all are to believe in . . . And you may see by G. *Keiths* Books, how they have framed their Doctrine Concerning *Christ*, according to this their *Hypothesis*, borrowing several of their Notions out of the Writings of some *Rabbies* among the *Eastern Jews*, Translated into Latin, by a Learned Noble Man in *Germany* (whose Children I tutored some years agoe) But if the *Rabbies-Ænosph* be according to the *Semi-foxians*, the Father, Word and Holy Ghost, (as they say) and the *Ænosph* having clothed himself with the Manhood called *Adam Cadmon*, be, the Word's being made *Flesh*, then according to them, not only the Word, but also the *Father* and *Holy Ghost* were made *Flesh*. This and many other Absurdities follow from G. *Keiths* assertion, that the *Word was made Flesh* in the Beginning, and that this *Flesh* is the *Rabbies Adam Cadmon*. And these Cabbalistical *Semi-foxians* seem to expect that their heavenly *Adam Cadmon* in the Body assumed of *Mary*, shall come from Heaven to Judgement, and that then there shall be a *Resurrection* out of the Graves; and G. K. doth also believe, that at his coming there will be the 1000 Years-Reign, which is more then I ever heard any one called a *Quaker* affirm. And because G. *Keith*, as he told me last Summer, favours the Twelve Revolutions or Transmigrations of our Souls, . . . therefore he is of late very fickle concerning the *Resurrection-body*; for he told me last Summer, that this *our Flesh* which goes into the grave shall not rise again, but there is an *Invisible Bone* dispersed thro' this Body, called by the Cabballists *Luz*, which is the *Seed Sown*, unto which God shall give a *Spiritual Body*: and he said, that he asked some

of the Jews in these parts, what *Luz* signified, and they (because they understood nothing of that *Cabbala*, and perhaps knowing that the word, *Luz*, in the *Portugal* and *Spanish Tongue* signifieth Light) told him it meant *Light* and so G. Keith is hugely pleased with the fancy of it, and thinks it suteth bravely with their *Light* and *Seed*. And when I told him, that the Cabbalists said, that the *Invisible Bone* is only a Small Bone in the back, he answered, that *Wise men would not tell all at once.*<sup>15</sup>

Thus on the subject of the mystic *Luz* did those learned Orientalists, Mather and Lodowick, have their little joke at the expense of Keith, and there was probably many a learned chuckle around Boston and Cambridge about it. Lodowick's report on the course of Keith's thought during the summer of 1691 can hardly be mere fabrication, for it agrees with the rest of the internal and external evidence about Keith and is just one further indication that Keith, like Lodowick before him, was well on his way toward becoming a schismatic. Indeed, the first breach between him and "the generality of Quakers" came a few months later in September and was considerably widened by the time Lodowick wrote and Mather published the letter.<sup>16</sup>

In this age of controversy a counterblast from George Keith was naturally to be expected, and it soon came in his *The Christian faith of the People of God, called in scorn, Quakers in Rhode-Island . . . Vindicated from the Calumnies of Christian Lodowick*, Philadelphia, 1692. This was not merely a refutation of Mather's and Lodowick's claims about the heretical opinions of the Quakers concerning the person of Christ, but also on its positive side a formal statement of the creed of the Rhode Island Quakers.

Lodowick, however, apparently had no interest in keeping up the controversy, issued no counter-refutation, but turned his active mind from religious speculation to the pursuit of science and mathematics, both speculative and practical. His contact with Mather, together with a

<sup>15</sup>A Letter from the most Ingenious Mr. Lodowick Rhode-Island Febr. 1. 1691.2, 2-7.

<sup>16</sup>See Ethyn Williams Kirby, *George Keith*, New York, 1942, esp. 62 ff.

possible previous acquaintance with Samuel Lee very likely brought about Lodowick's introduction to the remarkable group of men around Boston who were able to appreciate the depth and range of his attainments. This group included Samuel Sewall, James Oliver, and Thomas Brattle among those whom Lodowick certainly learned to know well, possibly also Charles Morton and William Brattle. Samuel Lee had left Rhode Island and America in 1691, intending to return to England, but had died instead in a French prison.

Lodowick's exact movements after his break with the Newport Quakers are difficult to ascertain. At some time between 1692 and 1694 he seems to have made one or more visits to Boston, for he was well acquainted with Thomas Brattle and several other Bostonians before he left Newport for good in the summer of 1694. On April 10 of that year Thomas Brattle wrote him a letter, the answer to which, dated Rhode Island, April 21, is preserved in the Rhode Island Historical Society.<sup>17</sup> To judge from this, the two men had had considerable personal or epistolary communication before this time. The body of the letter, a little treatise in navigation mathematics embodying Lodowick's method for "the Middle-Parallel-Sailing", has already been published in this periodical,<sup>18</sup> but the first part of the letter with its significant personal details has not, and follows herewith (with the abbreviations resolved):

"Mr. Brattle, Yours of the 10th instant received last, with the Mummy and Gumme Tragacanth, which I give you many Thanks for, as also for your Trouble in enquiring after some Usnea. I return you the french Tunes with a Bassus to them, and shall be ready to gratify you in this or the like respect, wherein I may be capable. I was glad to understand your Organs are finished, and coming in Gillam: We heard some time agoe he had been killed in a Fight. I was also very glad to understand by yours, that Mr. Newman is arrived in safety, to whom (I pray) remember my kind Respects, congratulating his safe Return . . ."

<sup>17</sup>R.I.H.S. mss. XIV, 223.

<sup>18</sup>*Rhode Island Historical Society Collections*, XVII (1924) 89-90.

The first three items mentioned are medical remedies from the incredible pharmacopoeia of the seventeenth century, when eager, inquiring minds were exploring all the possibilities of a swiftly expanding world, and when the critical checks of experience, of trial and error, were not yet available to distinguish the possible from the preposterous. The drug called mummy, imported from the East, generally from Egypt, was thought to be derived from the ancient mummies, and was considered one of the sovereign remedies of the day. Gum tragacanth, similar to gum arabic, was (and apparently still is) used in medicine as a demulcent. To just what medical uses Lodowick would have put the Usnea (the genus of lichens to which the tree mosses belong), we can only guess.

From medicine the versatile Lodowick turns to music. It appears from this that Lodowick had made the musical arrangement (whether for voices, small orchestra, or the new Brattle organ) for some French tunes that Brattle had sent him. The implication is that he was musically trained and accustomed to making musical arrangements, and this lone sentence gives him an important and very early place in the history of New England secular music. Just how much he had to do with the famous Brattle organ, its installation and performance, we do not know. The Mr. Newman mentioned was probably Henry, the grandson of the Reverend Samuel Newman of Rehoboth. He had been librarian of Harvard College till 1693, was still connected with the college, and was later to go to London where he became a very important intermediary for Cotton Mather, Jonathan Belcher, and other New Englanders in their correspondence with great European scholars and religious leaders.<sup>19</sup>

Our next information about Lodowick comes from Samuel Sewall's diary, on Friday, July 27, 1694: "Groton set upon by the Indians, 21 persons kill'd, 13 captivated, 3 badly wounded. About 9. night, Mr. Lodowick comes to Boston. Between 10. and 11. there is an Alarm through

<sup>19</sup>On Henry Newman see the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

the Town kept up till near day-break. Mr. Brattle was arriv'd at Col. Shrimpton's, there he told me of Mr. Lodowicks unhappiness in coming just then."<sup>20</sup> This may be the date of Lodowick's definitely settling in Boston and Cambridge for what was to be a year or so of crowded and diverse activity which was to be remembered in New England for fifty years and more to come.

<sup>20</sup>Mass. Hist. Soc. 5th *Collections*, V, 391. It is to be noted that the other reference to "Mr. Lodowick" in Sewall's diary concerns the well known *Charles Lodowick* of New York, who was apparently no relation to Christian.

(To be concluded in the next issue)

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### Patriotic Society News

The annual meeting of the Society of the Cincinnati of Rhode Island was held, according to law, in the Colony House, Newport, on Fourth of July. Rt. Rev. James DeWolf Perry, S.T.D., was re-elected president; Walter Channing, vice-president; John Nicholas Brown, treasurer; and Maj. Clarence H. Greene, assistant treasurer. William Greene Roelker was elected secretary in place of Peyton Randolph Hazard, resigned, and Charles Howland Russell was elected assistant secretary.

Following the annual luncheon at the La Forge Cottage, attended by members of the Society of the Cincinnati, Sons of the Revolution, and officers of the armed forces, the party adjourned to the Colony House.

The Sons of the Revolution, with the late Col. Frank P. King, president, presiding, held a meeting attended by members of the Cincinnati and by the general public. The address of the day, delivered by Mr. Roelker, was entitled "The Adventure of Rhode Island." B.F.S.



A SW. View of the BAPTIST MEETING HOUSE, Providence, R.I.

THE FIRST BAPTIST MEETING HOUSE (1774-75).

*From a print showing the building in 1789.  
The dwelling at the left is probably the house erected that year by Seril Dodge,  
still standing at 10 Thomas Street.*

# The Development of the Neck

## A Chronicle of the East Side of Providence

by JOHN HUTCHINS CADY, F.A.I.A.

(Continued from *Rhode Island History*, Volume III, No. 2, p. 51)

### CHAPTER V. 1772-1784

The first official list of street names was adopted by the town in 1772<sup>1</sup> in which thirty-five names were enumerated and defined. The streets so designated constituted the built-up part of the town and the listing is of value in reconstructing the highway pattern of the period just before the Revolution.<sup>2</sup>

The original Towne street was given four names: Water Street (the present South Main), King Street (North Main from Market Square to North Court), William's Street (North Court to Mill; not to be confused with the present Williams Street), and Constitution Street (Mill to Olney). The old road to Pawtucket was named Prince Street (North Main from Olney to the North Burial Ground). "What is commonly called the Back Street" was officially named Benefit Street. Wickenden Lane, Transit Lane<sup>3</sup> Power's Lane, Planet Lane, and Hanover (College) Street<sup>4</sup> ran east from Water Street. The former Gaol Lane, extending easterly from King Street, was re-named Meeting Street as far as Benefit and retained its former name farther east. Bowen Alley and Star Lane ran east from William's Street and Mill Street branched to the northwest, crossing

<sup>1</sup> *Record Book of Deeds*, 20 (1), 01.

<sup>2</sup> Not all of the town highways were included in the list of street names. It omitted the present Hope and Angell streets which were then roads to ferrys, as well as the present Rochambeau Avenue, then the town boundary and known as Hearndon's or Harrington's Lane.

<sup>3</sup> Named for the observation of the transit of Venus in 1769 through a telescope set up on the highway.

<sup>4</sup> Laid out as Rosemary Lane, 1720; changed to Presbyterian Lane, 1727.

Moshassuck river and continuing as Charles Street. Stampers Lane (now absorbed in North Main) branched north from Constitution Street. The original Dexter's Lane, later known as Olney's Lane, extending east from Constitution Street, was named Liberty Street in honor of a Liberty Tree dedicated July 25, 1768<sup>5</sup>; the extension of that highway (now abandoned) westward to Moshassuck river was named<sup>6</sup> Olney Street. Moshassuck Lane (Bark Street) extended southerly from that street to the mill bridge.

The highway leading "from the Parade on the East Side of the Bridge Westward to the parting of the Road by Jacob Whitman"<sup>6</sup> (Market Square and Westminster Street to Turks Head) was named Market Street. Other streets identified on the Weybosset Side included Westminster (Turks Head to Cathedral Square), Weybosset (Turks Head to Dorrance), Broad (Weybosset from Dorrance to Abbott Park), Pawtuxet (Broad from Abbott Park to Comstock Avenue, then the town line), High (Weybosset and Westminster from Abbott Park to Olneyville), Orange, Union (Weybosset to Westminster), School (Mathewson from Weybosset to Westminster), Snow (Pine from Chestnut to Richmond), Dock (Page), and Ship (Clifford and Ship, from Broad to Eddy).

The problem of water supply was met by many of the Neck dwellers by the digging of wells and the construction of rain water cisterns. The town pump, located on the Fenner estate north of the Town Parade (the northwest corner of Market Square and North Main Street), was used as a neighborhood supply. As the West Side was developed it was found that the water in the wells dug near the swampy shores was too brackish to drink, so "it fell to the lot of the boys, some of whom were negroes . . . to go with two pails and a hoop, across the bridge for a supply"<sup>7</sup> at the pump. Relief from that condition was provided by two companies,

<sup>5</sup> Staples, p. 222.

<sup>6</sup> See page 43, chapter IV, April, '44.

<sup>7</sup> *Life of Howland*, p. 25.

chartered in 1772, which constructed water supply systems by means of water logs. One company, formed by inhabitants of the region north of Cowpen Point,<sup>8</sup> supplied its customers from a fresh water spring on the John Field farm near the present corner of Clifford and Chestnut streets. The other company, known as Rawson's Fountain Society, constructed a "fountain" near Rawson's tanyard (Dean and Fountain streets) and laid an aqueduct from there easterly to Aborn Street.<sup>9</sup>

Most of the farm products from the agricultural lands on the Weybosset Side were brought to town over the bridge to the Town Parade where a hayward (hay scales) had been located for a number of years for the convenience of the farmers.<sup>10</sup> The Parade was 123 feet wide, sloping from the Towne street down to the shore, and the eastern abutments of the bridge were near its northern border, about opposite the center of the present Market House.<sup>11</sup> On the south border of the Parade, facing east on the Towne street (South Main), was the Abbott Still House.<sup>12</sup> Dr. Ephraim Bowen's mansion, erected about 1739, stood at the present northeast corner of North Main and College streets and Governor (1727-32) Joseph Jenckes' residence adjoined it on the north; these houses were replaced in 1823 by the Franklin House and the Roger Williams Bank Building,

<sup>8</sup> Cowpen Point, documented as early as 1710 (*E.R.P.*, XI, 146), is shown on the Daniel Anthony map of 1803 near the intersection of Point and Eddy streets. House lots were first laid out in that area in 1717 (*A Map of the House Lots . . . , Street Line Dept. plat 051331*). "When the John Field farm was opened for settlement at Cowpen Point the Eddy family established a shipyard there, and so many of the same name were engaged in building vessels and houses that soon the 'Point' was called 'Eddy's neighborhood' or 'Eddy's Point'." (Henry R. Chace, *Owners and Occupants of the Lots, Houses and Shops in the Town of Providence, R. I., in 1798* (Providence, 1914), hereafter *Owners and Occupants*, p. 6.

<sup>9</sup> Staples, p. 621.

<sup>10</sup> Dorr, p. 157.

<sup>11</sup> See page 118, chapter III, Oct., '43; page 41, chapter IV, April, '44.

<sup>12</sup> See page 119, chapter III, Oct., '43.

respectively.<sup>13</sup> Deputy Governor (1778-80) Jabez Bowen resided next north to the Jenckes house in a dwelling, erected about 1745 by Daniel Abbott, later known as the Manufacturers Hotel.<sup>14</sup> From its balcony was proclaimed the accession of George III of England in 1760 and the Declaration of Independence in 1776. The house was replaced in 1850 by the What Cheer Block, now known as the Providence Washington Building. Facing the Parade north of the bridge and west of the town pump stood the gambrel-roofed Exchange Coffee House.

In 1771 the town resolved to build a Market House on the Town Parade, climaxing a movement which had been agitated for thirteen years during which time various sites had been considered. The grant of a lottery, to provide the necessary funds, was obtained from the General Assembly and the program was printed in *Providence Gazette* April 28, 1772. As the tide ebbed and flowed over part of the site it became necessary to fill the land to a level with the bridge, a project undertaken under an agreement with John Brown; and subsequently a bank wall was built by Joseph Andrews around the land thus made.<sup>15</sup>

The Market House (page 123) was designed by Joseph Brown in collaboration with Stephen Hopkins and its construction was started in May, 1773. It was 40 by 80 feet in area and two stories high, the walls of the lower story comprising a series of arches of which those at the west end were open to provide direct access from the Parade to the merchants' stalls within the building. The second story was divided into offices, some of which were used by the

<sup>13</sup> Roger Williams Bank Building was razed in 1911 and replaced by the Peoples Savings Bank. When the excavations for Franklin House were being made a rock was uncovered bearing an iron staple and ring, evidently used at an earlier date for mooring a boat and indicating that the tide once flowed across North Main Street (Dorr, p. 105).

<sup>14</sup> The Abbott Still House, Franklin House, Roger Williams Bank Building and Governor Bowen's house are seen in the illustration on page 123.

<sup>15</sup> Report of Record Commissioners, Nov. 23, 1893, included in *City Auditor's Report* for 1894.

town. The stalls were built in 1776 and were disposed of at public vendue, and new hay scales were erected near the northeast corner of the building; commencing in 1779 and for a number of years thereafter a portion of the building was used for a fire engine house. During the stay of the



VIEW OF MARKET SQUARE, C. 1850

*Showing the Market House, erected 1773.*

French troops in Providence in 1781 the Market House was appropriated for their use (page 130), and after their departure it was refitted and its surroundings were improved by the planting of trees. The town clerk's office was established in the building in 1793 and when Providence was incorporated as a city in 1832 it became the City Hall. A third story was added in 1797 by St. John's Lodge of Masons in which the first masonic hall in Rhode Island was installed.<sup>16</sup> The building has undergone various alterations since that time.

<sup>16</sup> Katharine A. Milan, *The Story of the Old Market House* (Providence, 1928). A bronze tablet on the Market Building records the masonic data.

The outstanding architectural work of the pre-Revolutionary period was the First Baptist Meeting House. The Charitable Baptist Society, having outgrown its church erected in 1726,<sup>17</sup> acquired in 1774 the lots of John Angell and Amaziah Waterman, extending from King (North Main) Street to Benefit Street and bounded on the north by a 30-foot gangway known as Angell's Lane (Thomas Street) and on the south by Waterman's Lane (Waterman Street).<sup>18</sup> Joseph Brown, Jonathan Hammond and Comfort Wheaton were commissioned "to make a Draught of a House," a project in which Mr. Brown took the lead. The cost of the building was financed by a lottery and John Brown, brother of Joseph, was in charge of construction.<sup>19</sup> Ground was broken for the foundations June 3, 1774, and the first service was held in the meeting house May 28, 1775.

The plan is square, in New England meeting house tradition, 80 by 80 feet, with doors on all four sides and a projecting vestibule on the front.<sup>20</sup> Above the vestibule a steeple rises 185 feet above the ground, the design of which was adapted from a drawing taken from James Gibbs' *Book of Architecture* published in London, 1728. The main auditorium, reached by a double stairway from the vestibule, has a central nave and two side aisles. Above the aisles are galleries supported by Ionic columns. The nave is covered by an elliptical barrel vault, and the galleries by groined vaults. The seating capacity is 1400, large enough to accommodate more than one quarter of the town's population at the time of its erection. In view of the fact that the meeting house was erected "for the publick Worship of Almighty GOD; and also for holding Commenceme-

<sup>17</sup> See page 114, chapter III, Oct., '43.

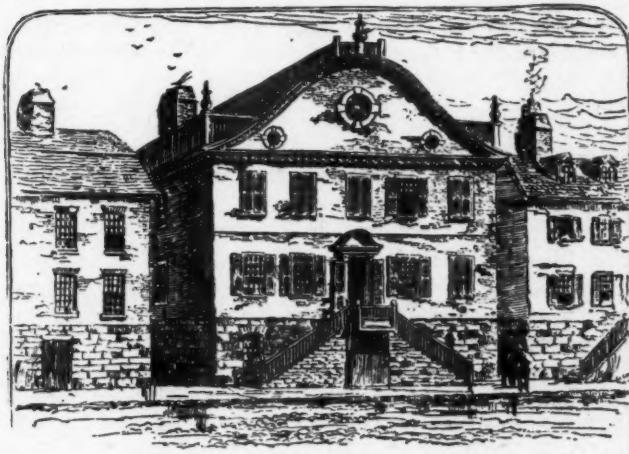
<sup>18</sup> *Providence Deed Book*, XIX, 240, 257, XX, 188, 391. The purchases in 1774 did not include a lot of about 5600 square feet at the corner of King Street and Waterman's Lane; this was acquired by the society in 1857 (*Deed Book* CXLV, 296).

<sup>19</sup> Norman M. Isham, *The Meeting House of the First Baptist Church* (Providence, 1925), pp. 1-2.

<sup>20</sup> The rear wing is a later addition.

ment in,"<sup>21</sup> and has ever since continued for both purposes, its size has been justified (page 118).

Probably the finest of the pre-Revolutionary dwellings on the Neck was the one designed by Joseph Brown as his own residence, erected in 1774, and still standing at 50 South Main Street. An amateur architect, astronomer and physicist, Joseph was the second of the famous quartet of Brown brothers.<sup>22</sup> Nicholas, the eldest, had erected, in



JOSEPH BROWN HOUSE

*From a sketch showing the original entrance and steps.*

1759, a three-story brick house on the west side of the Towne street which stood until 1930, its site now incorporated in the lawn in front of the Providence County Court House. Joseph Brown purchased the lot on which

<sup>21</sup> Bronson, p. 63. Since 1776 Brown commencements, with very few exceptions, have been held in the meeting house.

<sup>22</sup> See page 38, chapter IV, April, '44. It is a significant fact that all five of Joseph Brown's known architectural works are still standing, namely, University Hall (1770), the Market House (1773), the First Baptist Meeting House (1774), the Joseph Brown house (1774), and the John Brown house (1786).

was then standing the Field Garrison House<sup>23</sup> which he demolished before erecting his own. Built of brick, three and a half stories including a brownstone basement, its distinguishing features are a curved pediment and a wood cornice enriched with consoles and dentils. Originally the main entrance (now replaced by a window) was located in the center of the main story above the basement and was reached by a double flight of stone steps (page 125). The stairway, mantels, and other details of inside finish are very elaborate. From 1801 to 1929 it was the home of the Providence Bank (established 1791) and it is now owned and occupied by the Counting House Corporation.

During the years immediately preceding the Revolution thoughts of national liberty and means for its attainment took precedence over local matters in the minds of the colonists. The "first overt act of violence offered to the British authorities in America" occurred in Newport, July 19, 1769, when his majesty's ship *Liberty* was burned.<sup>24</sup> The people of Providence manifested their resistance to the crown three years later by burning the British revenue schooner *Gaspee* where she had run aground off Namquit Point on the west shore of Narragansett bay. The group who accomplished that act assembled in the evening of June 9, 1772, at a dwelling on Water Street (South Main, northeast corner of Planet) where James Sabin kept a house of board and entertainment for gentlemen. Colonel Ephraim Bowen described the events of the evening, as follows: "About 9 o'clock I took my father's gun and my powder horn and bullets, and went to Mr. Sabin's, and found the southeast room<sup>25</sup> full of people, where I loaded my gun, and all remained there till about 10 o'clock, some casting bullets in the kitchen, and others making arrangements for departure, when orders were given to cross the street to

<sup>23</sup> *Life of Howland*, p. 23; see also page 32, chapter I, Jan., '43.

<sup>24</sup> Samuel Greene Arnold, *History of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* (New York, 1859), hereafter Arnold, II, 297.

<sup>25</sup> When the house was razed in 1891 the room was moved and attached to the Talbot house at 209 Williams Street.

Fenner's wharf and embark . . .”<sup>26</sup> The group, under command of Captain Abraham Whipple, thereupon set off in boats provided by John Brown and accomplished the patriotic mission. In commemoration of the event the name Namquit Point later was changed to Gaspee Point.

In May of the following year two former governors, Stephen Hopkins and Samuel Ward, were elected delegates to the Continental Congress. British tea was burned near the Market House, March 2, 1775.<sup>27</sup> A military company, known as the United Company of the Train of Artillery, was established in Providence April 22d of that year, three days after the battle of Lexington. Other events of the year included the capture of the tender of the British frigate *Rose* by the armed sloop *Katy*, chartered by the Colony from John Brown and commanded by Captain Whipple who had, by that act, the distinction of firing the first authorized naval shot of the Revolution;<sup>28</sup> the Colonial appointment of Nathanael Greene as Brigadier General of the Army of Observation, and the Congressional appointment of Esek Hopkins as Commander-in-Chief of the American Navy. On May 4, 1776, the General Assembly met in the Colony House at Providence and formally renounced its allegiance to Great Britain. The Declaration of Independence was adopted by the Continental Congress at Philadelphia July 4th and, upon its ratification by the General Assembly two weeks later, the Colony of Rhode Island became the State of Rhode Island and the Colony House was known thenceforth as the State House.

Preparations for war had been under way since the battle of Lexington; cannon were cast at Hope Furnace in Scituate;<sup>29</sup> guns, muskets, swords and gunpowder were manu-

<sup>26</sup> Arnold, II, 312.

<sup>27</sup> A tablet on the Market House records the event.

<sup>28</sup> George L. Miner, “John Brown’s Katy,” *R. I. History*, II, 75.

<sup>29</sup> Hope Furnace, established by Daniel Waldo in 1735 near the falls of Pawtuxet river in the present village of Hope in Scituate, was owned during the Revolution by John Brown and others. The ores were carted from beds in Cranston and Cumberland by ox teams to the furnace (Field, III, 331, 371).

factured in the environs of Providence; shipyards were busy building warships among which were the *Providence* and *Warren*, launched in Providence in May, 1776;<sup>30</sup> and troops were being recruited throughout Rhode Island. Meanwhile, a number of Providence merchants were engaged in privateering and brought rich prizes to their home port.<sup>31</sup>

In December, 1776, a British fleet entered Rhode Island waters, closed Narragansett bay to shipping, and landed troops who proceeded to occupy Newport. Many citizens of that town fled to Providence where the opportunity was taken to repay the hospitality extended to its own people by Newport one hundred years earlier in the Indian war.<sup>32</sup> Exercises at the college were suspended, the College Edifice (University Hall) was appropriated as a barracks and hospital for troops,<sup>33</sup> and the Brick Schoolhouse<sup>34</sup> was converted into an arsenal for storing ammunition. Beacons were erected on Prospect Hill,<sup>35</sup> near the present corner of Prospect and Meeting streets, and on the Weybosset Side near the corner of Beacon and Point streets, to alarm the inhabitants in case of an enemy's approach. Fortifications were built and batteries established at Fox Hill,<sup>36</sup> Robin Hill,<sup>37</sup> Field's

<sup>30</sup> Welcome Arnold Greene, *The Providence Plantations* (Providence, 1886), hereafter *Providence Plantations*, p. 61.

<sup>31</sup> *Life of Howland*, p. 82.

<sup>32</sup> Howard W. Preston, *The Battle of Rhode Island* (Providence, 1928), p. 10. See also page 35, chapter I, Jan., '43.

<sup>33</sup> Bronson, p. 67. See also page 48, chapter IV, April, '44.

<sup>34</sup> See page 45, chapter IV, April, '44.

<sup>35</sup> Edward Field, *Revolutionary Defenses in Rhode Island* (Providence, 1896), p. 43. A beacon had been erected on the same spot in 1667 as a warning against an attack by Indians.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48. See also map opposite page 26, chapter I, Jan., '43. The fort was later replaced by a resort known as Fox Hill Observatory which was removed, together with the hill, about 1876.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58. Robin Hill, now largely obliterated, was located a short distance west from the shore of Providence river between Sassafras Point and Field's Point. A municipal quay wall was erected along the harbor line, 1912-14. The fort was on the site of the present sewage disposal plant.

Point,<sup>38</sup> Prospect Hill,<sup>39</sup> Fort Hill,<sup>40</sup> and on a tract of high land, bounded by the present Broad, Foster, Chestnut and Friendship streets, named Fort Sullivan,<sup>41</sup> and redoubts were constructed on Ferry Lane (Angell Street).<sup>42</sup>

Although the commerce of Providence was crippled by the blockade of Narragansett bay, its farms uncultivated for lack of men, and many of its people destitute, the town escaped enemy occupation. Newport, on the other hand, was in enemy hands for nearly three years and before the British had evacuated in October, 1779, many of its houses had been destroyed and its prosperity crushed.

On August 2, 1778, a few months after the signing of the French treaty of alliance, the Marquis de Lafayette visited Providence.<sup>43</sup> Two years later French troops under command of the Comte de Rochambeau arrived in Rhode Island and on June 25th appropriated the College Edifice which had been evacuated by Federal troops.<sup>44</sup> Rochambeau

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62. This fort, later known as Fort Independence, stood on a high bluff of the southerly part of Robin Hill, at the west end of the present Georgia Avenue. "Ramparts" were erected 1935-38, intended to represent the fort. The municipal quay dock was extended southerly, 1939-42, and shoal areas were filled on which the shipyard of the Rheem Manufacturing Co. (later Walsh-Kaiser Co., Inc.) was established for the building of vessels for use in World War II. In 1942 the "ramparts" were demolished and the hill leveled to provide an extension of the shipyard.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 73. The fortifications were on the brow of the hill, surrounding the beacon, enclosing an area bounded approximately by Prospect, Meeting, Congdon and Bowen streets.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76. The hill, rising from Hog Pen Point at the entrance to Seekonk river, was a part of Rehoboth, Massachusetts, at the time of the Revolution.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 75. Named for General John Sullivan who administered the military affairs of the state in 1778. The fortifications were removed in 1784 when part of the hill was dug away and the material used to fill the low marshland along the river at its base.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.

<sup>43</sup> Howard W. Preston, "Lafayette's Visits to Rhode Island," *R. I. H. S. C.*, XIX, 3.

<sup>44</sup> Bronson, p. 71.

was in Providence that summer as guest of Deputy Governor Jabez Bowen at his home on the Town Parade (page 122) and General Washington was a visitor at the same house in March, 1781, and was entertained also at the State House. In June, 1781, the French army spent several days in Providence on its way to join Washington's army at Yorktown, camped on a plain near the present Hayward Park (Plain Street takes its name), and used the Market House for the storage of baggage.<sup>45</sup> Rochambeau again visited Governor Bowen and his aides were guests at the homes of Nicholas Brown (page 125), Joseph Brown



GOLDEN BALL INN (1784).

(page 125), Joseph Nightingale, Joseph Russell, Benjamin Cushing, and other citizens.<sup>46</sup> In the fall of 1782 the French troops, on their return march, camped on a plain

<sup>45</sup> Howard W. Preston, "Rochambeau and the French Troops," *R. I. H. S. C.*, XVII, 1.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 12-13. Joseph Nightingale resided near the present street railway tunnel portal on North Main Street before erecting his house on Benefit Street in 1791. Benjamin Cushing's house was built on North Main Street about 1731 and was moved to the rear of 38 North Court Street about 1860 where it still stands. The Russell house at 118 North Main Street has been reviewed on page 50, chapter IV, April, '44.

north of the present Rochambeau Avenue between North Main and Hope streets.<sup>47</sup> Before making his adieus Rochambeau gave "a very splendid ball at Hacker's Hall to the ladies and gentlemen of the town."<sup>48</sup> Hostilities with Great Britain were discontinued January 20, 1783 and the treaty of peace was signed in Paris September 3d. General Washington was elected President of the United States May 25, 1787, the Constitution of the United States was signed the following September 27th, and was approved by the Rhode Island General Assembly May 29, 1790.

Little building activity developed in the town during the years of the Revolution; with the return of peace and prosperity, however, construction work was resumed and increased in volume in the closing years of the century. In 1782, shortly before the cessation of hostilities, John Hoyle established a tavern at the junction of the Plainfield and Cranston roads.<sup>49</sup> It was the earliest public house on the West Side and was frequented by drovers and farmers as well as by "joyful parties of young men and women [who had to go] far around in the country in their excursions to wind up in a dance and a good time."<sup>50</sup> In 1784 Henry Rice opened the Golden Ball Inn (page 130) on Benefit Street near the State House, a large four-story building with a double balcony extending along the front. Among its distinguished guests were the Marquis de Lafayette in

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid*, p. 19. Rochambeau Avenue, originally laid out in 1685 (page 86, chapter II, July, '43) and known successively as Hearnden's Lane, Harrington's Lane and North Street, was re-named in honor of the count about 1890. In 1791 Horse Pasture Lane was constructed from Hearn-den's Lane to Olney Street and was later named Camp Street in recognition of the French encampment. A monument to the French army was erected at the corner of Summit Avenue and Brewster Street in 1907 by the Rhode Island Society, Sons of the American Revolution.

<sup>48</sup> *Providence Gazette*, Nov. 25, 1782; see also page 38, chapter IV, April, '44.

<sup>49</sup> See page 94, chapter II, July, '43. The intersection, known for many years as Hoyle Square, is now identified as Canonicus Square. Hoyle Tavern was replaced by the Citizen's Savings Bank in 1921.

<sup>50</sup> Richard M. Bayles, *History of Providence County* (New York, 1891), I, 307.

1784, Mrs. John Adams in 1789, and President Washington and Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson in 1790.

<sup>51</sup> *R.I.H.S.C.*, XIX, 8, 13; *R. I. History*, I, 99. In later years the building was enlarged and altered and its balconies were removed. It was known, successively, as Daggett's Tavern, Roger Williams Hotel, Globe Tavern, and finally Mansion House, and was demolished in 1941.

(*To be continued*)

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## Material Desired

### Thomas Jefferson

As many members of the Rhode Island Historical Society know, work has already begun, under the sponsorship of Princeton University, on a definitive edition of the writings and correspondence of Thomas Jefferson. Julian P. Boyd, Librarian of Princeton University, has explained that the edition, of approximately 50 volumes, is planned to include all letters, memoranda, account books, commonplace books, legal opinions, addresses, and miscellaneous papers of Jefferson, together with his public and other writings. It will also include listings, summaries, or full printings of letters to Jefferson.

Members of the Society are requested to send to Mr. Boyd any information they may have about archival or manuscript collections containing Jefferson documents or items of Jefferson interest, particularly those owned privately.

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### Cable Cars

The Rhode Island Historical Society wishes to acquire for its collection photographs of the original cable tramway cars which operated in Providence in the early 1890's. Members having such photographs in their possession are requested to communicate with the Society. W.G.R.



A RARE TYPE OF WINDSOR CHAIR, WITH EXTREMELY LONG LEGS. IT WAS ONCE USED BY THE ORGANIST OF THE FIRST BAPTIST MEETING HOUSE. NOW IN THE POSSESSION OF THE SOCIETY.



GALATEA (left) and MAYFLOWER

*starting in their first race of the sixth challenge contest for the America's cup, in the Narrows of New York Harbor, September 7th, 1886. From a pen drawing by W. G. Wood, after a photograph by N. L. Stebbins.*

## From the Log of Frederick Grinnell's Schooner *Lydia*\*

America's Cup Races between *Mayflower*  
and *Galatea*, September, 1886.

Extracted by FRANCIS H. STONE

SEPTEMBER 7TH, 1886

Stapleton, [Staten Island, N. Y.]

This day begins with a light air from the S.E. and foggy weather, a very poor [out]look for the Flyers, but as the day advanced it began to clear up, and when the sun began to Shine it was fearfully warm. At about 10 Am. the Yachts began to make Sail, and soon after the Bay was all aglow with white Sails and anxious faces. We got our anchor and began beating down through the Narrows with a light breeze from the S.S.W. still watching the two big sloops maneuvering for a position to start. At about 11 Am. we had a fine beating breeze from the South, and some of the Ebbtide with us. Having got some distance below the Starting point, all Eyes in eager search for the coming battle, when some one cries out "Here they come," and sure enough they were both on the Starboard tack making their way down for the Narrows at a rapid pace, the *Mayflower* having the lead and continuing to open the gap as the two Boats beat down for Sandy Hook. The wind not being very strong gave us a fine view of them as they passed us bye, which was off Gravesend Bay. Since the tide made ahead and the wind dead ahead to buoy 8½ they both were going very fast. Still the *Mayflower* gained rapidly on her antagonist and when off Sandy Hook Buoy the *Mayflower* was a good mile ahead. After leaving the Hook about two miles the wind had a little freak in hauling about a point more on the western board, giving the *Galatea* some advantage, but seemed to be of no use to her, as the "Boston Pet" kept leaving her. Neither boat being able to fetch the light Ship within ¾ to a mile when the *Mayflower* tacked ship and made for the lightship it was a foregone conclusion that for this Race the *Mayflower* was a certain sure, *Mayflower* passing the outer mark at 3:34 Pm. and the *Galatea* 3:44, and when in the home stretch the Boston Boat seemed to Just walk away from her antagonist as much as to say good bye, till we meet again, passing over the inner line at the finish 12 minutes and 2 seconds corrected time ahead of her opponent, the Graceful beauty in whose care we believe the Cup is safe.

\* Extracts from three journals of the *Lydia*, 1886-87-88, kept by Capt. J. B. Smith, Sailing Master, and presented by Mr. Russell Grinnell. The *Lydia* was a schooner yacht, built in 1881, measuring 50' 4" overall, and 44' 6" on the waterline. Her beam was 16' 0", and she had a draft of 4' 9" without the centerboard.

We followed the yachts out past the *Romer* about four miles, then turned back, having ample time to witness the finish, which was to us a glorious sight and we could join in with full accord in making one of the most unearthly noises that was ever heard, the *Galatea* having a Similar Salute but more faint-poor Boys we pity you, but we are Glad you are beaten.

After the finish of the Race we ran up through the Narrows and came to anchor at Stapleton at about 5:15 Pm. having had a very fine day throughout. On this day our party consisted of the following persons:

Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Grinnell  
Mr. Roland Anthony of New York, and  
Master Russell Grinnell

who were all highly pleased with the grand success of the *Mayflower*. Latter part fresh S.S.E. thick weather, so ends.

SEPTEMBER 9TH 1886

Stapleton

Begins with light air from the North and thick weather. At 5:40 Am. we got underway for the Horseshoe back of Sandy Hook. Beginning at that time to drizzle. Rain and moderate N.E. wind, as we drew past the Narrows the wind was more fresh and about East, shutting in thick with fog and Rain. We ran down and into the Horseshoe, arriving at about 8 Am. and hove to for breakfast, then took a few turns around the *Dauntless*, *Harbinger*, *Priscilla*, *Bedouin*, *Merandy* and other Yachts, and at about ten Am. saw the Big Sloop and Cutter towing down for the Hook, wind strong from the East with Rain and fog. Furled our Gaff-topsail and stood out past the Hook and then began to beat to windward. At 11:30 we were some distance beyond the Scotland Lightship when the yachts Crossed the line at 11:30 Am. with a fine beating breeze from the East. The *Mayflower* soon took the lead and continued to open a wide gap between herself and her antagonist, rounding the outer mark at 4 the *Galatea* not being in sight at this time. The wind had nearly died out and Shut in thick fog. We stood about 5 or six miles S.S.E. from Sandyhook Lightship, then hove about and ran in to the North of the Lightship, lying off and on for the Yachts return, but the wind being so light and the fog shut in we ran for and passed the Hook, then ran up to Bayridge, Anchoring at about 7:30 Pm having had a very wet day of it, although latter part light Easterly wind and fine Rain. So ends, The wind being so light we fear the Yachts will not finish within the prescribed time to be called a Race. We are very sorry for the fog and light wind. At about 12 midnight the Beautiful Yacht *Mayflower* Anchored very near us at Bayridge, looking as Saucy as ever, having beaten her Rival out of sight, not knowing whither she has gone.

## SEPTEMBER 10TH 1886

This day, as some others, came in calm and really hot. Scoured the deck with Sand, then hoisted the Sails to dry. Got a new supply of Coal and then provisioned up. Took in Ice &c. ready to go down and witness another trial of the two big Single Stickers, they both being unable to finish in the required time yesterday. At about 8:30 Am saw the *Galatea* coming up in tow of Tug with her towering Clubtopsail set, but there was not a breath of air stirring and as she shot past us very graceful in appearance we felt a little sorry for her in being left so far behind. With the iron rust streaked down her sides reminded one of the hard Struggle she has had with her opponent, like some hard working man with the Sweat on his brow all tired out and come home for a rest, then try again with perhaps no better success. About 10 Am Mr and Mrs Grinnell took the Steamer for New York City to visit friends and make some purchases. Pm went ashore with Master Russell to do some Marketing. At about 2 Pm there came in a light breeze from the S.W. Very fine Clear weather, continuing so until the day ended. At about 6 Pm the Yacht *Harbinger* came in from Stapleton, luffing too near us and in doing so got afoul of our Bowsprit, but soon cleared and done no damage.

## SEPTEMBER 11TH 1886

Bay Ridge

Begins with light N.W. wind and smoky weather. At about 8 Am we filled away for Sandy hook with a fine breeze from the W.N.W. We ran down the Bay, leaving the *Romer* on our Port. As we gradually drew down toward the Hook and about abreast of the *Romer*, we looked astern and there saw the *Mayflower* coming in tow of a Tug, and West of her we saw the *Galatea* making her way down in tow of a Tug. Having a strong N.W. breeze at that time we managed to run down past the Scotland Lightship, having an abundance of time to Spare before the flyers made a Start which was at 11:22 at which time the wind had died out some. The *Mayflower* took the Lead and soon began to leave her opponent and continued to widen the gap between herself and the *Galatea* and when the beautiful *Mayflower* past the outer mark, which was at [ ] Pm she had gained on the *Galatea* over [ ]. Then came the beat to windward where the Bostonian could show her speed. Well, she just walked away from the *Galatea* in a way that was good to look at. Her friends all foresake her (*Galatea*) and she was left to finish her part of the Race alone. Poor old *Galatea*, you had better not crow so loud next time when you come over the three thousand miles of water just to beat a little "Yankee Flyer".

While we hovered around the Scotland Lightship we could not help speculating on the result of the race between the two Boats, and therefore made some marks in the way of the difference in time of coming in between the Boats, but in all our speculation we were altogether off, and while in the speculating mood we were aroused by a cry from our Eagle

Eyed Joe, who sang out "Here they come". We took our Glass and saw in the far off distance two large Yachts Standing in for the New Jersey shore well heeled over and going at a rapid pace. As we scanned the horizon it was decided without a doubt that the *Mayflower* was far in the lead. The wind at this time being quite light we began to entertain fears that our favorite would not make the finish inside the specified time and Small bets began to be numerous aboard our little ship. As the *Mayflower* was coming directly for us she seemed to come very slow. Our hearts fairly leaped with hope that there would be a little more wind. One says "Only twenty minutes left". "Yes, I know" says another, "She will make it, here she comes; by Jove, she has it". Here she comes like a frightened Deer, and over the line she goes at a good 6 mile rate. Three cheers for the Yankee Boat. Look astern and not less than three miles away comes the once dreaded English yacht *Galatea*, and what is this deafening sound we hear, whistles, Gongs, Guns, and Such Cheering man never heard before. The victory's won, the Cup remains with over half an hour to Spare, and the beautiful Yacht *Mayflower* scuds out through an enormous flotilla of all styles and kinds of Steam and Sail vessels, and is soon taken in tow bound to Bay Ridge. The wind being very light and from the N.W. we took a tow from a Tug bound through Hell Gate. In going up we stopped at Bay Ridge for a despatch; while there and near the *Mayflower* the *Galatea* passed. In doing so she gave three hearty cheers for the victors, which was duly returned to the Plucky *Galatea*. Thus ends one of the Greatest Yacht Races ever Sailed in this, our beloved Country. After getting a despatch we towed on up through the Gate and Anchored East of Riker's Island at about 10:30 Pm being calm and very fine. Thus ends a very eventful day: leaving our mainsail up and with cheerful heart we retire from the deck. Ends &c.

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*Mayflower* won the first race by 12 minutes, 2 seconds, corrected time, having allowed *Galatea* 38 seconds. The second contest was declared no race when both yachts failed to finish within the time limit. *Mayflower* took the series by winning the third race in 29 minutes, 9 seconds, corrected time. *Galatea* had 39 seconds allowance.

## An Unpublished Letter of Roger Williams

by BRADFORD F. SWAN

In the collection of 17th Century Rhode Island manuscripts given to the Rhode Island Historical Society earlier this year by the Hon. Frederick S. Peck of Barrington there is an undated letter from Roger Williams to the Town of Providence which apparently has not been published.

Internal evidence seems to indicate that the letter was written between 27 October 1660 and 14 March 1661/2, and probably nearer the latter date than the former.

### The letter:

I pray y<sup>e</sup> Towne to consider how yo<sup>r</sup> Rate & Late promised Contribucion are both like to come to no use for ou<sup>r</sup> Agent in Engl. & therefore although you haue not granted him a Purchase Right yet for y<sup>e</sup> Credit of y<sup>e</sup> Towne let us out of ou<sup>r</sup> Thoughts allot him an hundredth acres or what you please, & where, so y<sup>t</sup> he may receave Notice y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Towne of Providence hath in realitie done something for him: If this be granted some thinck jt will be better for him then a broken contribucion w<sup>ch</sup> /may/ come short to him, /&/ little or nothing I am incouraged to trouble you this second time by others of us who wish m<sup>r</sup> Clarke & y<sup>e</sup> Busines well:

Also I pray some remembrance of my Bill for granting Libertie & Encouragem<sup>t</sup> for y<sup>e</sup> beginning of Plantatjon /at/ Weyunkike jt js y<sup>e</sup> desire of others beside my selfe, y<sup>t</sup> /so/ persons may be encouraged to bring in thei<sup>r</sup> monies when they see there js Something in realitie to be peaceably enjoyed, & Delayes may doe hurt.

Yors Roger Wijlljams

Tho: Harris his Bill for Trayning  
Tho: Harris bill ag<sup>st</sup> changing of Lands &c

[Indorsed]

To y<sup>e</sup> Towne of Providence

prest

[also on verso]

Wauwununnow demaunds y<sup>e</sup> meadow be

yond Paugutchat cut this yeare he sajth

[one line of Williams's shorthand]

Williams first proposed a new settlement at Wayunkeke in a letter sent to the town 27 October 1660.<sup>1</sup> At a town meeting 6 December 1661 the town had ordered its two deputies to "goe unto the Treasurer, And demaund of him what is become of the monies which was gathered up for M<sup>r</sup> John Clarke; And to bring in Report unto the Towne."<sup>2</sup>

It would seem that this letter from Williams, which does not sound very hopeful about the chances of raising the money for John Clarke, was written after the above-mentioned report had been made.

At a town meeting 14 March 1661/2 it was ordered that "three men shall be chosen by the Towne, to goe and vew Landes, about Wayunkeake, to see where it will be convenient to place A Towne, And how the Towne shall be placed and in what manner; and to bring in their Report . . .".<sup>3</sup>

And, at a Quarter Court on 27 April 1662 it was ordered "that in Case m<sup>r</sup> John Clarke shall Come over from England, or shall comend unto us A friend from England which is in destresse, that he, or they shall freely be acommodated amongst us with A full purchase Right of Land, as of gift."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *R. I. Colonial Records*, I, 39; *Narragansett Club Publications*, VI, 314. Wayunkeke was "the region in the immediate vicinity of the present Wionkhege Hill in the town of Smithfield, and apparently regarded by the early colonists as a tract of about four square miles." (*R.I.H.S. Collections*, X, 397.)

<sup>2</sup> *Early Records of the Town of Providence*, III, 7. John Clarke had been in England nearly 10 years, seeking to vacate Coddington's commission and get a new charter for the four towns of the colony.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 19.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 22.

## Genealogical Contributions

by G. ANDREWS MORIARTY, F.S.A.

### GUTTERY (GUTTREDGE) — WILLIAMS

"Ann Guttery, widow of Robert Guttery<sup>1</sup> of Newport, R. I. yeoman, formerly relict of John Williams, sometime of Rhode Island merchant, deceased, eldest daughter of John Alcock, late of Roxbury physician, deceased, and granddaughter of Ann Palgrave sometime of Roxbury deceased and relict of Richard Palgrave formerly of Charlestown in New England deceased" for £185 sells to Samuel Greenleaf of Boston, victualer, a messuage together with a house in the southerly part of Boston "purchased by the said Ann Palgrave of Abraham Busby and Abigail his wife sometime of Boston aforesaid and bequeathed to me by Ann Palgrave by her will dated about 11 March 1688 fronting Easterly on the fore street leading to Roxbury 30 ft. and bounded Northerly on Edmund Dennis, later of Arthur Mason and now of the inheritance of the heirs of Capt. Benjamin Gillam dec. and Westerly and Southerly on Joseph Briscoe." Deed dated 22 Aug. 1706.<sup>2</sup>

Ann Guttery, widow of Robert Guttery late of Newport deceased gives a power of attorney to "my brother, Nathaniel Williams of Boston" to deliver possession to Samuel Greenleaf. Dated at Bristol, 22 Aug. 1706.<sup>3</sup>

Robert Guttery was one of the Scotch prisoners at Braintree and later of Block Island, where he was a prominent citizen.<sup>4</sup> This deed shows that he was also of Newport.

<sup>1</sup> He is listed as Guttredge in Austin, *Gen. Dict. of R. I.*, p. 89. The name has also been written Guthrie and Gathrie.

<sup>2</sup> *Suffolk Deeds*, vol. 23, fol. 42, at Suffolk Registry of Deeds, Boston.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> According to Austin, Guttery put out from Newport for Block Island in a small boat and was never heard from again, "as the town records show." Recently, Mr. Moriarty, in his *Additions and Corrections to Austin's Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island*, as printed in volumes XIX and XX of *The American Genealogist*, reported that Guttery married, on 25:10:1656 at Braintree, as his first wife, Margaret Ireland. Her first name only was known to Austin. Mr. Moriarty also cited the fact that Guttery once called Alexander Enos (Innis) "my countryman," indicating that he, too, was Scotch.—*Ed.*

John Williams<sup>5</sup> was the son of Nathaniel Williams, a prominent Boston merchant. He was a merchant at Boston, New Shoreham, and Newport. In 1686 he was Attorney General of Rhode Island. He died in 1687 and his will is on file in Boston. He was the father of Palgrave Williams, the pirate, who was quartermaster to Bellamy.

Dr. John Alcock (Harvard, 1646) was a son of Dr. George Alcock of Roxbury, and a nephew, maternally, of the Rev. Thomas Hooker, the founder of Hartford. He was a prominent physician at Roxbury and Boston, and in 1660 was one of the principal purchasers of Block Island.

Richard Palgrave, apparently a member of the gentle family of Palgrave of co. Norfolk, England, was one of the first settlers of Charlestown, Mass. After his death his widow returned to England and resided in Stepney Parish, co. Middlesex, but she later returned to Boston, where she died as above related.

Nathaniel Williams of Boston, to whom the power of attorney was given, was a brother of John Williams, first husband of Ann Guttery. He was commander at the Castle (Castle William in Boston harbor) when Andros was imprisoned there.

The property in question was situated on the westerly side of Washington Street in Boston, not far from the Roxbury line.

#### SHEFFIELD

By a deed dated 12 June 1703, Capt. Nathaniel Sheffield of Newport, cordwainer, and his wife Mary for a valuable consideration conveyed to William Chamberlain of Hull, weaver, a one-fifth part of the easterly end of a house in

<sup>5</sup> Although Austin had material to show that John Williams left descendants in Rhode Island, to wit: Ann Guttery's will, he does not give the genealogy of the John Williams family in his *Dictionary*. The omission has been remedied by Mr. Moriarty's excellent article in *The Genealogical Magazine*, (Eben Putnam, Boston—1915), vol. III, p. 4, entitled "John Williams of Newport, Merchant, and His Family." Readers desiring further information on the family will find considerable in that place.—*Ed.*

Hull, Mass., "of which William Chamberlain, late of Hull deceased and father of the aforesaid Mary, wife of Capt. Nathaniel Sheffield, died seised."<sup>1</sup>

Capt. Nathaniel Sheffield was a prominent citizen of Newport and was an Assistant and Major for the Island. (cf. Austin's *Genealogical Dictionary of R. I.*) This deed reveals the name of his first wife, which was unknown to Austin. (His second wife was a daughter of Gov. Walter Clarke and the widow of James Gould.)

The Chamberlains were a family of Quakers at Hull. Some of them came to Rhode Island and are buried near the Sheffields in the Golden Hill Street Burying Ground at Newport.

<sup>1</sup> *Suffolk Deeds*, vol. 44, fol. 182.

### Book Review

#### WINTHROP PAPERS: Volume III, 1631-1637.

The Massachusetts Historical Society, (Boston, 1943). Pp. xl, 2, 544, frontispiece and illustration. \$5.

This third volume of the *Winthrop Papers* is of great interest to students of Rhode Island history because of the wealth of original source material which it contains. No less than 48 of the papers have never been published before. One of these, of special interest to Rhode Islanders, is the acknowledgment of John Clarke, dated ca. 22 November 1637, to "the Aut[horit]y heere sett ouer vs: we acknowledge it to be of God, and that we are bound to be subiect thereto while we live under it...."

Another paper shows that Joshua Winsor, the Providence settler, had been a servant of William Lomice of Redrise near London and been transferred by his own consent to complete his term of service with Governor John Winthrop, which accounts for allusions to this effect made later by Roger Williams.

The volume contains 22 letters from Roger Williams to John Winthrop, one letter from George Ludlow to Roger Williams, a letter from Williams to Richard Collicutt, and a power of attorney from Williams to Collicutt. Sir William Martin's letter to Winthrop, in which an opinion of Williams is given, is also in the volume.

A preface states that the practice of printing excerpts from Winthrop's *Journal* concurrently with the papers has been abandoned, and that the society hopes to publish a new edition of the *Journal* similar to the edition of Bradford's *History* which it issued in 1912. Let us hope this comes to pass in the near future.

B. F. S.

## Some Recent Accessions

From the Rhode Island Tool Co., William C. Dart, president, a contract between the Turkish Government and the old Providence Tool Co. for Martini Henry rifles, 1875.

From the author, Ruth Story Devereux Eddy, *The Ancestry and Descendants of John Hearndon of Scituate, R. I.* (Typewritten Manuscript, Providence, 1944).

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From the author, Richard LeBaron Bowen, *The Mother of Christopher Helme*, off print from *N.E.H.G. Register, XCVIII* (1944).

From Mr. Scott C. Burlingame, framed pictures of Rocky Point, the original shore dinner building at Field's Point, and a color print of Camp Brightwood.

From Mr. Zenas W. Bliss, seven letters of Gen. Zenas R. Bliss.

From Mrs. John F. Watts, photostat copies of Mowry family Bible records and the will of John Rathbun.

## The Cathleen Taylor Book Fund

Through the kind generosity of Miss Cathleen Taylor of Providence, who has contributed the sum of \$150, a book fund for the Society has been set up. Miss Taylor, a member of the Society and greatly interested in its work, was desirous of having her contribution used for this purpose, and from this fund the following books have already been purchased and added to our library shelves:

*Bogue Genealogy.* The Descendants of John Bogue of East Haddam, Conn., and his wife Rebecca Walkley; also the North Carolina Bogues and Miscellaneous Bogue Records.

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## Fall Schedule of Events

October 24, at 8:15 p.m., Mr. Stephen W. Phillips, president of the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass., will speak on: "Mutiny on Board the Ship *Globe*; A 19th Century Saga of the Marshall Islands."

Nov. 19, 1944, at 3:30 p.m., joint meeting of the Monday Morning Musical Club and the Rhode Island Historical Society. Music by members of the Club.

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## New Members of the Rhode Island Historical Society

Since March 24, 1944

Dr. Arthur Adams	Mr. Oscar M. Kilby
Hartford, Conn.	Aniston, Alabama
Lieut. George Ajoonian, U.S.N.R.	Mr. Howell A. King
Washington, D. C.	Baltimore, Md.
Dr. J. Stafford Allen	Mr. C. Stanley Kinney
Mr. Roland H. Ballou	Pawtucket, R. I.
Mrs. Sayles Booker	Mr. Webster Knight, 2nd
Sterling, Utah	Mr. J. Lawrence McElroy
Mr. Clarence W. Bosworth	Miss Mary G. Munson
Cranston, R. I.	Miss Eleanor Peckham
Mr. Arakel H. Bozyan	Mr. Frank H. Potter
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